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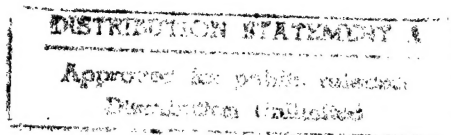
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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2061



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LACK OF ROMANIAN BOOKS IN BULGARIA, BULGARIAN BOOKS IN ROMANIA CITED

Timisoara ORIZONT in Romanian 3 Sep 82 p 8

[Interview with Spaska Konurkova, by Bujorel Ispas: "The Charm of Translation"]

[Excerpts] Question: First of all, a short...

Answer: Biography, I imagine: Spaska Konurkova, translator of Romanian literature into Bulgarian, born on 10 April 1930 in the city of Burgas on the Black Sea coast. After I graduated from secondary school in that city, I received a state scholarship to continue my studies abroad. In the fall of 1949, I went to Bucharest where I took courses in the Faculty of Philology, Romanian language and literature section. I graduated in 1953 and from June 1954 to 1981 I worked as an editor in the Romanian literature section of the "Narodna Kultura" publishing house in Sofia. At present, I am a free-lance translator. In 26 years of activity I have translated a total of more than 30 novels, short stories, tales, plays and films.

Question: I know that you are the author of a Romanian-Bulgarian dictionary, which has already become a bibliographic rarity in Bulgaria. What prompted you to undertake such a lexicographic work?

Answer: In 1972, in the framework of collaboration between "Editura stiintifica" in Bucharest and "Nauka i izkustvo" in Sofia, I published this dictionary. I compiled it, first of all, to prove to myself that, 18 years after I returned from Romania, I still had a mastery of the secrets of the Romanian language and, secondly, to help my compatriots who are interested in learning your beautiful language.

Question: What do you think should be done to optimize translation activity in our countries?

Answer: Much needs to be done. In the first place, there is an acute need for auxiliary materials--various types of dictionaries, encyclopedias, histories of our literatures, etc. At the present time, one cannot buy in Bulgaria an explanatory dictionary of the Romanian language or any kind of bilingual dictionary--Romanian-Bulgarian or Bulgarian-Romanian. I believe that the same thing is true for Romania where there are no Bulgarian auxiliary materials.

Anyone who has been able, by one means or another, to get hold of a dictionary, when it was published, is very lucky. But what will the people who need such a thing today do? I am referring, of course, to the young generation of translators. Secondly, it is almost impossible to buy a Romanian book in Bulgaria and a Bulgarian book in Romania--and this is true not only for literary works but also for scientific and technical books. In our countries there are no bookstores which sell Romanian books, in Bulgaria, and Bulgarian Books, in Romania. I believe that the official regulating of a permanent exchange of books between our countries would be especially useful. Until this is achieved, I would recommend that the "Bucuresti" store in Sofia and the "Sofia" store in Bucharest set up stands of Romanian books and Bulgarian books, respectively, as well as centers for ordering books and auxiliary materials. I have much more to say but I will leave it for another time.

CSO: 2700/368

BULGARIA

DEBATE ON UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF HEALTH SERVICES CONTINUES

Medical Cadre Salaries

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 9 Jul 82 pp 2, 7

[Article by Dr Genko Genkov, head of Health Center No 24, Inzhstroy DSO [State Economic Trust], First Consolidated Workers Hospital. For related material please see JPRS 81212 of 6 July 1982, No 2028 of this series.]

[Text] I am very pleased that your weekly has raised the important and topical problem of our health care's future in all its aspects -- material facilities, nature of medical services, and medical cadres and their salaries. Until now all of these problems were considered taboo for all of us. How did the prestige of healers decline? In the 1950s, senior health care comrades claimed that we are "nonproduction cadres," an opinion hard to eradicate to this day. In the 1970s other high-level comrades in the public health service claimed that a patient who lodges a complaint against a physician is always right. Now, thanks to the proper course charted at the 12th BCP Congress regarding health care and its problems, we can conduct a calm debate and pour our hearts out.

I have been a physician since 1952, and have practiced in the area of workers health care at the First Consolidated Workers Hospital since 1955. I have headed the health center as a shop physician (except for 1966, when I was assigned to the Ministry of Public Health as chief specialist in workers health care). I have witnessed a variety of trends and currents which have been "for" and "against" workers health care.

Medicine is not a craft or production skill, but an art. For thousands of years it has been known as "ars medica." A physician may examine only two or three patients on a given day, and thanks to his experience, ability and skill mastered through training and practical experience, save the life of a patient. Another physician may diagnose up to 35 subjective and objective conditions and, being more efficient, will be paid more.

In my view, the salaries of medical cadres must be taken out of the new economic mechanism. There are young people who know a great deal and older ones who have become senile. Let therefore, the patients choose their own physician whom they trust and let him be paid according to the rates. This is not a return to private practice, which I oppose. Such payments could be made through the hospital or the polyclinic.

Medical cadres are miserably paid. The standard salary of 155 leva earned by anyone with a higher education is not fair. I have in my unit technical managers with secondary school training who earn 250 leva monthly plus bonuses. Our enterprise's janitors received a 400 leva annual bonus. Why not award enterprise bonuses to the medical cadres as well? Does the physician or the nurse not contribute to higher output? Speaking at a meeting held in our hospital, the chief physician said that a way must be found to pay Yusuf the cook a base salary of 195 leva if we wanted to keep him. Why is it that we, the physicians, do not leave if we do not like our salary? Nowhere else in the world does such an anomaly exist -- garbage collectors to earn more than physicians. I am in touch with Czech colleagues (I took my medical training in Czechoslovakia and have worked there), who find it strange that in our country patients are forbidden to pay medical cadres, something which is legal in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries and which does not make their health care system any worse than ours. Physicians' salaries in the other socialist countries are comparatively higher.

This is the origin of the question of "tips" offered by some patients. A well-paid person has pride. A poorly paid physician finds it difficult to refuse a fee in cash or in kind. The question is not that he should refuse, for this is the rule and nothing but a rule. The letter by our colleague Dr Ivon Kozhukharova in your newspaper, issue No 26 of 25 June 1982, is entirely accurate. She has poured her heart out. To a greater or lesser extent her fate is the same as that of all physicians in the system.

How to accept the fact that specialization entitles a physician to no more than an additional 15 leva monthly? All of us know what it takes to become a specialist: Long practical experience, one year internship in a specialized institution, more studies and finally, examinations, which today are as hard as those of the entire 6-year medical training course. Look at the latest issues of ZDRAVEN FRONT and notice the large number of openings for specialists in Sofia. What will happen 5-6 years from now, when physicians of my generation retire? Very few physicians have specialized in recent years, particularly in difficult fields (surgery, internal diseases, pediatrics). The number of even more specialized (II) physicians is even smaller. There are no incentives for the specialists, and few among us are willing to poison our lives with studies for the sake of 15 leva per month.

What about medical books and periodicals? The question was properly raised on how to organize one's budget so that there is some money left for periodicals. Not all hospitals have proper libraries. Every since I have worked in our hospital it has had neither a library nor periodicals. How can we see current medical publications? What about foreign publications? That is why the health care indicators in our country are lower than those in other advanced countries. Those who read and learn more also know more.

Comrade Pavel Vezhinov is right (in the interview he gave to Dr Fani Tsurakova in ORBITA, No 23). He is very sincere and far-sighted in his thoughts and reflections.

Another complex problem is that of the personal or "family" physician. It is proper for people to want to choose their physician. They can choose their

hairstresser, tailor or mechanic but not their physician. How to solve this problem? In a village one has no choice, for there is only one physician. In the city however, at the beginning of the year one could express a preference for a physician within the the polyclinic or hospital which services him and, after being officially assigned to him, would seek medical assistance (house calls or family examinations) paid for according to the legal rate, through the health establishment. I believe that this is similar to the now lost concept of a family doctor, which is regretted by many citizens.

We average one physician per 400 people. However, how many physicians actually practice? How many are directly involved in health care? We have many administrators, chiefs and inspectors but many villages without a physician. That is why we lag behind Switzerland. Furthermore, these chiefs do not assume their positions after 20 years of practice but right after graduation. They have neither the necessary experience nor a concept of what health care is all about. There are requests for information, forms must be filled by the physicians on the slightest pretext, and transcripts of hospital entry records are demanded (numbering in the hundreds of pages, at 12 minutes copy time per page). A great deal of such unnecessary information is used by some colleagues holding important positions to write their papers. However, to the best of my knowledge, the Committee for the Unified System and Special Information alone has the right to demand and introduce accountability and report forms. That is how the physician's time is wasted.

There is much talk about reducing paper work but nothing is being done. In 1969 there were 95 different accountability and report forms. Today, in 1982, there are 325. Still on the subject reducing paper work: Is it not sufficient to enter a diagnosis, such as "acute tonsilopharyngitis" in the individual outpatient (or any other) card instead of also describe the patient's subjective and objective condition and even negative findings in order to prove that we have examined other systems and organs? Or else, why should a special form have to be filled, showing that I told the patient to come next Thursday? Is it not sufficient that I have told him to do so, instead of having to put it down so that someone may check on it? We do not trust one-another, and the less we do the more forms we introduce, the more we write and the less we treat. There are notebooks, log books, forms, reports, plans, informations, requests, all sorts of tables, as a result of which we hurry through the examination in about 3 seconds and start describing it, writing and expressing it in letters and figures....but why? So that one may be believed and be checked, for now the truth resides in the notebook and not in the treatment.

That is how the medical worker is devalued. We do this to ourselves. The physician must deal with a number of secondary problems.

We do not have a sufficient number of secondary medical personnel to relieve the physician from paper work. I have one nurse but work for three. Therefore, I have to waste my time in doing less skilled work. The phenomenon is ubiquitous. Three years ago I visited a factory physician in the GDR. My colleague had seven nurses (or other secondary medical personnel), one of One whom did nothing but extract and fill physiotherapy cards. I was envious of my German colleague who enjoyed the great respect of his patients!

I hope that, although hastily, I have been able to outline some thoughts which, I can assure you, are shared by many of my colleagues. I believe that you are helping to resolve one of our health care problems, and I hope that such is indeed the case. Your initiative is praiseworthy.

Grateful to Physicians

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 9 Jul 82 pp 2

[Letter by Ana Deyanova Makedonska, senior German-language teacher]

[Text] I value and respect the medical profession. I love physicians, those people who have sworn an oath to care for the most precious possession of man -- his health.

I liked very much the article by Dr Ivon Kozhukharova. It was truthful and bold and a good reflection of reality. This dear physician did not dare to accept the three fresh eggs offered by a thankful granny. When I needed an electrician he came, took 15 minutes to install a socket, asked for 3.50 leva and wrote a receipt for 2.50 (the only worker ever to give me a receipt). What all the articles reveal is that a great disparity exists between salaries for mental and manual work. A friend of mine, a pediatrician, is considered one of the best in her field. She is now retired with a pension of 110 leva. Her rent is 50 leva. She is a healthy woman of 60 and could help many sick children but does not dare to do so, for it is forbidden. How can she subsist on 60 leva, what to buy first? She is a woman of culture but cannot afford the luxury of buying herself a book or going to a concert or a movie. She does not visit others, for she is unable to reciprocate.

I remember that 14 years ago Dr Ilarion Mikhaylovski, the gynecologist, an excellent physician and a lovely person, operated on my best friend. The anesthetist was an acquaintance of mine and a friend of the patient. The surgery was very difficult. After the surgery the anesthetist told me that "Dr Mikhaylovski performed a true act of heroism. Throughout the surgery, which lasted 4 hours, he was in control of the entire team. He was sweating profusely, and he earned the admiration of us all." Dr Mikhaylovski was assigned to a developing country for the sake of friendship among the nations, to train medical cadres and help the population. He fell seriously ill and died soon afterwards, but the woman on whom he operated enjoys good health and the pleasures of life. Such physicians, and there are many of them, deserve our praise and sincere gratitude!

In my view, the Ruse physicians, who hold such responsible positions and are probably worthy members of their profession, are refuting very softly and delicately some of the arguments brought forth by the author of "The Unswallowed Medicine." Let us express "warm thanks and say a warm and good word" on behalf of those who are tirelessly fighting for our health and life!

Trust in Socialist Health Care

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 9 Jul 82 p 2

[Text] In response to the materials published in NARODNA KULTURA under the section "Culture and Society" (Nos 21, 23 and 26, 1982), the editors received the answer of the Ministry of Public Health and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Health Workers, which follows:

A growing interest and activeness on the part of our public in problems of health care have been noted of late. In a number of cases this has been reflected also in the central and local press. Materials are published stressing the positive features in health care activities or in the activities of some health collectives, as well as materials which constructively criticize individual weaknesses committed by health workers. The Ministry of Public Health and the Central Committee of the Health Workers Trade Union as well as our medical public consider such activeness to be exceptionally important and useful. It is a manifestation of the increased democratic nature of our system.

However, some materials in which health care problems are being misrepresented and considered one-sidedly and whose interrelationships and historical and social contexts are neglected have also been published. Such were the materials published in NARODNA KULTURA (Nos 21 and 23 of 21 May and 4 June 1982), particularly the article "The Unconsumed Medicine." The reason that we concentrate on them is not because they are critical but because they contain a number of erroneous statements and conclusions and improper formulations, summations which are groundless and insulting to the health workers and viewpoints which conflict with the basic principles of our socialist health care. For this reason the Ministry of Public Health and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Health Workers deem it necessary to submit to our public some considerations needed to ensure the proper understanding and evaluation of contemporary health problems and the viewpoints presented in the newspaper.

On the Nature and Prospects of Socialist Health Care

The development of socialist health care in our country began immediately after the 9 September Socialist Revolution. The initial concern of the people's system and the newly created Ministry of Public Health was to combine the available health resources, to take measures for their accelerated development, to eliminate the difficult health consequences of monarcho-fascism and to prepare conditions for building a truly people's health care system. In accordance with the resolutions of the fifth party congress (1948) and with the methodical and material aid of the Soviet Union, a course to overall socialist reorganization of our health care was charted. We undertook the implementation of Lenin's socialist health care principles: state management and unity of the health care system; planned development in accordance with the other social areas; preventive medicine as a general line; free, universally accessible and skillful medical services; unified medical science and practice; and extensive participation of the public and the population in the formulation and resolution of health care problems.

Having passed the historical test in the Soviet Union, for more than 3 decades these principles have ensured the forward and effective development of our own health care system. This development received a particularly strong impetus during the period of the April renovation, when the health protection of the people became one of the most clear manifestations of real socialism. The party's April social policy ensured the considerable growth of the material and cadre potential of health care and the fuller and more qualitative satisfaction of the health needs of the population. Emergency and first medical aid were particularly developed along with polyclinical and hospital assistance, health care specialization, and care for mothers, children, workers and others. Free medical aid--the great accomplishment of our people, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, acquired new dimensions. The creation of the Medical Academy (1972) comprehensively increased the possibilities and achievements of our medical science and education. It became the basic factor in steadily upgrading the scientific standard of practical health care. Of late the academy has been applying in the country most modern equipment and methods for diagnosis and treatment (computer tomography, heart pacers, echocardiograph, ultrasound, fibroscopic, and other methods); it has developed its own production of a number of highly efficient medical drugs and developed a widespread network of centers for kidney hemodialysis. This network is superior to one even in the most developed countries.

Thanks to the dynamic development of health care and on the basis of the steadily developing living standards of the people during that time, considerable positive changes occurred in the population's health. The average life span increased from 65.8 years in 1956-1957 to 71.3 years in 1974-1976. According to preliminary data, 1981 infant mortality was under 20 per thousand and even as low as 14.2 and even 12.9 per thousand in some okrugs. During the Seventh Five-Year Plan alone overall contagious morbidity declined by 24.5 percent while lethal cases caused by acute contagious diseases dropped by 20.8 percent compared with the previous five-year plan.

Currently, in terms of the basic characteristics of the health condition of the people and the structure of morbidity and mortality, our country is among the most advanced in the world. That is why the development of Bulgarian socialist health care, in which quantitative growth has been paralleled by substantial qualitative changes and unquestionable successes, cannot be described only as extensive, as the article in NARODNA KULTURA claims.

The rapid development of our health care and its enhancement to a contemporary level are the result of a systematic application of the principles of socialist health care under the party's guidance. This proves, yet once again, their fruitfulness and promising nature. No other way is possible, for they proceed from the very nature of the socialist system. For this reason, any efforts to abandon or revise these principles would mean a violation of socialist health care. That is why we must firmly reject the suggestions and ideas published in NARODNA KULTURA on the application of one form or another of direct material-financial relations between patients and health workers. This conflicts not only with the principles but the entire historical experience of the Bulgarian, Soviet and, in general, socialist health care. It also conflicts with common sense, for it is quite easy to see the adverse health, social and ethical consequences of the restoration of such relations.

On Health Requirements and Their Satisfaction

The main function of socialist health care as a social system is the increasingly better satisfaction of the health requirements of society and the individual. It would be hard to say whether it is merely the lack of competence that the newspaper has cited figures and data without explaining their content, correlation and importance in terms of health care problems. Thus, for example, mention is made of the low birth rate without explaining that this is an exceptionally complex sociodemographic process which is very little influenced by health care activities; infant mortality is mentioned without explaining that the level we have reached of less than 20 per thousand is a major achievement (144.5 per thousand in 1945), as well as the fact that the lower they become, the slower and more fluctuating are the rates of further declines because of their objective dependence on reasons which are still difficult to control; mention is made of the increased number of diseases (the figures are incorrect) without explaining that this does not mean any increase in the number of patients but the result of the improved system of early detection of existing morbidity; a comparison is made between the number of physicians and hospital beds with some indicators of the population's health care, without explaining that a complex correlation exists between them (reducing the morbidity rate by one-half does not depend on doubling the number of physicians and hospital beds).

The true contemporary problems which are triggered by changed health requirements are not seen as a result of such a superficial and primitive approach. Our health care system has resolved problems which were basic in the past and were related to the dissemination of dangerous communicable diseases (diphtheria, infantile paralysis, typhoid fever, paratyphoid, spotted fever, malaria, tuberculosis, and others). Today we are focusing on problems of cardiovascular diseases, nervous and mental diseases, malignant tumors, accidents, and others. The causal determination of this contemporary pathology, which is characteristic of all advanced countries, is more complex than in the past. This requires far more complex and difficult scientific solutions and preventive, diagnostic, treatment and rehabilitation facilities.

Although noting some of the achievements of our health care system, the Ministry of Public Health is far from underestimating the unresolved health problems and existing shortcomings in the work. It has adopted a responsible self-critical attitude toward them, with a clear conscience that even more persistent and intensified work is needed to meet the growing health needs and requirements of the people. That is why the health workers welcomed with deep understanding and gratitude the just criticism and the great trust shown in their efforts and possibilities as described in the report of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, our first party and state leader, at the October conference.

On the basis of the decisions of the 12th party congress and the party's criticism, the Ministry of Public Health formulated and is implementing measures aimed at decisively improving the quality and standards of medical services, the intensive development of health care and the efficient utilization of resources in order to achieve even better health and demographic indicators during the current five-year plan.

We should note that NARODNA KULTURA makes use of many of the self-critical analyses and assessments of the ministry, presented to the health care aktiv. However, not a word is being said of the implemented decisions and programs and the results already achieved: the fact that since 1981 more than 5,000 newly graduated higher and secondary cadres had been assigned to positions for strengthening outpatient-polyclinical services, the fact that contemporary equipment has been supplied for children, obstetric-gynecological and cardiological units for intensive care, the expansion of free supply of medicine in treatment at home, the introduction of computers in health establishments, etc.

One of the important initiatives of the Ministry of Public Health over the past 10 years has been a model for perfect socialist health care introduced in Gabrovo Okrug. It triggered extensive international interest and became the target of a plan for cooperation with the World Health Organization which, at the beginning of this year, issued a special monograph on the subject and distributed it among all countries. A new memorandum and plan for continuing cooperation with the WHO and the international utilization of the experience based on this model were concluded in Geneva last May.

The Scientific Research Institute for Social Medicine, which has not been closed down as the newspaper irresponsibly claimed, participated in the work on the development of the Gabrovo model.

After the 12th party congress, it became necessary for the Gabrovo model to be subjected to a number of developments related to the intensification of health care and its basic levers and mechanisms. This called for the updating of the model which in no case could be identified with the fabrication found in NARODNA KULTURA that "everything withered away."

On Universal Outpatient Treatment of the Population

The historical experience of the Soviet Union indicates that the outpatient method is the cornerstone of socialist health care. Universal and total outpatient treatment is based on a complex balance between differentiated health needs and specific health care possibilities. This made it necessary for us to develop a line of its gradual introduction and gradual extension to individual population groups in accordance with their social significance, level of risk and available forces and funds of the health care system. In the introduction of computers and other equipment we are relying exclusively on Soviet experience, for nowhere else in the world is outpatient treatment based on the use of computers. That is why the claim in the newspaper that "Computer automation, outpatient and preventive treatment exists throughout the world..." conflicts with reality.

The entire complexity and great responsibility of introducing general outpatient treatment in our country had to be taken into consideration before irresponsibly writing that "Full outpatient treatment makes to this day every leading medical worker afraid." The enhanced requirements and responsibilities exist but to say the least the word "fear" is out of place. It is not a question of fear but of the active social position adopted by the Ministry of Public Health and the health collectives that is confirmed by the fact that by the end of 1981 more than 4.5 million people in our country were subjected to

outpatient treatment, which is more than 51 percent of the population. According to the state plan the figure was to reach 55 percent by the end of 1985. Let the editors of NARODNA KULTURA themselves assess what the newspaper has written on this subject.

Bearing in mind the forms and content of outpatient treatment, it is clear that it requires the type of organization and conditions which can exist only within the socialist health care system. In this connection let us note the obvious inconsistency of the viewpoints expressed in NARODNA KULTURA. On the one hand, the newspaper noisily and persistently pleads in favor of outpatient treatment with a view to developing it further and further; on the other, it recommends the application of health care methods which are organically incompatible with it. It is suggested that health care be "billed" to the respective enterprises by privately practicing physicians. Not much thought is necessary to realize that the adoption of the outpatient treatment as a progressive and promising form of health care automatically rejects the alternative of "billing" for health services by privately practicing physicians. There neither is nor could there be outpatient treatment (in its socialist context) wherever private medical practice exists. This is a contradiction which cannot be surmounted according to the formula of "both this and both that," but exclusively on the basis of the "either-or" formula.

Regarding the Economic Approach

The economic approach in health care is being developed and applied in accordance with the stipulation formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the January 1980 conference on comparing invested resources with results.

The economic approach is built on the basis of stipulations, criteria and indicators which exclude an "enthusiasm for economic results" and contribute to upgrading the quality and standards of health care. This is acknowledged by the newspaper as well (luckily, some indicators counter such enthusiasm for economic results). Conversely, a sinister and groundless future is depicted of expected "counterresults" in the application of the economic approach: returning back to work people who have not recovered entirely as a result of granting them shorter sick leave; keeping already recovered people in the hospital; "filling up all beds" in hospital wards in order to increase the level of utilization of bedding facilities; arbitrary increase or decrease in the number of examinations "in pursuit of indicators;" recording undone work ("a number of other procedures are recorded instead of "palpation of the stomach"); worsening of the treatment (administering 19 instead of 20 shots); worsening the hospital regime (heating 95 instead of 100 stoves), and so on. Having been said that the system of economic approach has limiting blocks for such phenomena, the depiction of such a sad situation questions the purity of thought of its creators.

Due to the complex nature of the problems in this area, in accordance with Council of Ministers decree No 56 of 1980, the Ministry of Public Health engaged in a 1-year experiment (rather than 6 months as the newspaper indicates) in applying the economic approach in health care in Stara Zagora and Plovdiv Okrugs, with the active support of the respective okrug party and state managements and public organizations. The necessary preparations were made to this

effect, executive, legal and methodical materials were drafted and studied by health workers in both okrugs and courses and seminars. That is why the newspaper's claim to the effect that "In those health institutions not all basic (although imperfect) normative documents were supplied to their health institutions" is erroneous. They were not only received but studied in detail. The Ministry of Public Health and the medical academy, which is pioneering the application of the economic approach in Bulgarian health care, were steadily observing and supervising the experiment. The 1-year results were analyzed and discussed at a national conference held in Stara Zagora. Instructions were issued on the basis of the conclusions on undertaking the training of people for the application of the economic approach in health care on a country-wide basis.

The newspaper calls for "general outpatient service" as a mandatory prerequisite for the application of the economic approach in health care, expressing the firm conviction that in the opposite case "the economic mechanism would be compromised." Every health worker knows that the economic approach can be introduced without outpatient treatment as well. The first is an incentive, a lever for effective functioning; the second is a method and form of health service. That is why, regardless of the standpoints taken by NARODNA KULTURA, the Ministry of Public Health will continue to follow a line of economic approach along with the broadening of outpatient treatment without waiting for its complete implementation.

On Some Moral and Ethical Problems

According to NARODNA KULTURA, corruption "is already eroding even those medical workers who are most strongly immunized against it." In other words, in our country all health workers are corrupt (since even the "most immunized" are no exception).

The Ministry of Public Health and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Health Workers reject most firmly and indignantly such a charge which, to say the least, degrades the more than 180,000 thousand-strong army of health workers. Before such a slander was to be written and printed, one should have thought of the thousands of letters of gratitude received from all parts of the country, the numerous cases of self-sacrifice displayed by health workers, and their numerous daily displays of quiet and modest heroism and dedicated efforts to provide medical aid even in the most remote parts of the homeland day and night.

But there is more. Irresponsibly, the newspaper claims that "Actually, about 50 percent of health care given today is against payment." This stupidity is being promoted in order to "substantiate" as an alternative the restoration of private practice in one way or another. It is on the basis of such a groundless viewpoint that the suspicion is voiced to the effect that health workers are engaged in an "organized effort" to return to private medical practice and a "protest against the relatively lower salaries of medical workers." This concept is a virtually irresponsible accusation of health workers who have proved and are proving with every passing day their lofty socialist awareness of civic and professional responsibility. They would consider it inadmissible

to participate in any type of attempt (not to mention "an organized" one) to restore private medical practice or to express in any antisocial way demands for higher wages.

The Ministry of Public Health and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Health Workers do not deny the existence of individual cases of unconscientious actions and corruption. In order to enhance the communist upbringing of health cadres systematic work is being done on the basis of a special program. Those who violate their professional duty and morality are properly penalized, going even as far as depriving them of their right to practice and their prosecution by the courts. However, it is inadmissible for individual unseemly actions to be generalized, and thus to turn into a slander of health workers. May this be on the conscience of those who have written and published it irresponsibly.

Unfortunately, even a very brief study of the publication in NARODNA KULTURA leads to the conclusion that this is not a case of constructive criticism, a criticism which would help to improve the functioning of the health care organization, but something entirely different. It is a question of a conscious or subconscious attempt to attack the very system of our socialist health care and radically to undermine its basic principles. Yet these are principles which are organically related to the nature of socialism, principles whose implementation under the party's leadership have led us within a short historical period from health poverty to contemporary progress, principles which have proved their vitality and promising nature. Do we have the right to draw such a conclusion? Unquestionably, we do, for with its erroneous data and groundless summations and forecasts NARODNA KULTURA questions the prestige and possibilities of our socialist health care and its personnel.

The picture presented by the newspaper is essentially the following: health services are worsening; the medical personnel are corroded by corruption; today about 50 percent of medical aid is given against payment; full outpatient treatment makes health care managers afraid; unless there is total outpatient treatment of the population the economic mechanism would be compromised; the plan for outpatient treatment will be hardly fulfilled this five-year plan; the Gabrovo model has been abandoned; the Institute of Social Hygiene has been closed down; the application of the economic mechanism will trigger a number of adverse phenomena; the efforts of the health workers are ignored, improperly valued and poorly paid; the medical public is left without scientific and technical information, etc. These statements and forecasts are groundless, because they are false. Nothing good is being said about our socialist health care, although not quite openly (with hints, "new ideas," etc.) the alternative of private medical practice, which neither is nor could be a correction to the situation, is offered.

The Ministry of Public Health and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Health Workers reject indignantly and most categorically the efforts of NARODNA KULTURA to misrepresent the picture of our health care from pessimistic positions and denial, and to undermine the socialist principles of our health care, and to defame the thousands of health workers.

We favor objective and creative criticism, a criticism based on the positions of the health policy of the party, the positions of the socialist health care principles, a criticism such as the party teaches us to apply.

Socialist health care is the basis of the party's social policy. That is why the health of the people and care for its protection are something very serious and lofty. We must write about it with pure thoughts and a great feeling of responsibility. For this reason, treatments such as the ones prescribed in NARODNA KULTURA should be ignored, for medicine has applied a basic rule for centuries on end--"primum non nocere" (the first thing is to do no harm). The observance of this principle is mandatory also to anyone to whom the party has entrusted the mass information media.

Editorial Note: This viewpoint is published in its entirety in accordance with the express desire of the authors of the publication. The viewpoint of the editors is also presented in full along with an abridged letter which the editor in chief sent to the minister of public health after reading the above-published text.

Note From the Editors

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 9 Jul 82 p 2

[Text] Comrade Minister, allow me to thank you in writing for the comradely and frank discussion we had with you and your assistants and for your warm reception. The management of NARODNA KULTURA sincerely wishes for this meeting to mark the beginning of a practical cooperation on problems of health care standards. As I had written to you even before this discussion, the editors are interested and are pleased to publish the answer of your department, which would help to conclude our discussion prior to the consideration of the matter by the State Council.

I repeated this viewpoint in our discussion, even before reading the revised text you submitted to me. Having received the new version which consisted of virtually nothing but attacks launched against the newspaper, the editors became convinced that this text as well cannot play any sort of positive role... We bear in mind the fact that all participants in this discussion, regardless of the recommendations and statements with which they agree or disagree, are sincerely grateful to the editors and accept a discussion of the problems raised here. It is only the authors of the suggested draft answer who actually try to defame generally this useful exchange of views through the use of one strong word or debatable concept or another. In a discussion one does not know what viewpoint will turn out to be correct or wrong. A discussion alone will help us come closer to the truth.

For example, what was the motivation of the editors by publishing the opinion of one of the authors in favor of private medical practice, followed by the opposite opinion? First, the fact that the supporter of private practice quite clearly stipulated its subordinate existence as an aid rather than replacement of state free medical aid.

That is why it is absolutely unnecessary now to discuss, as the text you have submitted, either this or the other basic principles of socialist health care. However, even the most accurate principles may be compromised if applied doctrinarily rather than creatively. . .

Did practical experience not prove the purely doctrinary nature of the closing down of a large number of individual dental offices--whether private or ran by enterprises and establishments? Ten years have passed since but this type of health service is continuing to worsen. Its condition was characterized by Comrade Stanish Bonev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the national conference with the health aktiv (ZDRAVEN FRONT, 27 February 1982) as follows: "In frequent cases one must wait 2 to 3 months before an injured tooth can be treated, and 10 months before a dental bridge can be made and placed;

"The dental offices have been closed down in many enterprises;

"Direct services to the workers are extremely limited although today the number of dentists has quadrupled compared with 1944 while the population has increased by no more than 30 percent;

"Tooth fillings fall out quite frequently after a few days, although the work is being done with modern technical facilities and better materials." In some recent speeches Comrade Todor Zhivkov substantiated the need "to make use of the labor (of highly skilled specialists) in their nonworking time"¹ in order to improve services. We are aware of the excellent results achieved in other areas of our socialist development through the flexible coordination of public interests with local, private and individual initiative. This Leninist principle was brilliantly defended in our country by Georgi Dimitrov himself and is finding today an unprecedentedly creative development and implementation in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's works and activities. The stronger and more developed the planned state sector in one area or another is, the more boldly and broadly could local and private initiative be used. For the human mind and activities are the most perfect of all natural forces and it is precisely these forces that release the socialist revolution and help in the development of the socialist system. Such a dialectical approach not only does not weaken or threaten but strengthens even further the socialist system and socialist way of life. Thanks to the remarkable development by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on this matter, remarkably free from any kind of doctrinal approach, at the peak of a world economic crisis Bulgaria is not experiencing difficulties in supplying the population with comestible and most other goods or face dangerous political problems.

Our newspaper consciously refrains from dramatizing the problems through the information with which you are most familiar and which has been presented quite extensively in ZDRAVEN FRONT by Comrade Stanish Bonev. The task is not to dramatize but to resolve problems. All attempts to engage in pseudoideological dramatizing of a practical discussion can only delay the taking of proper steps. That is why we deem absolutely unacceptable the trend of rejecting criticism and suggestions by depicting them as antisocialist. The strong political unity of our people, largely due to the practical criticism and self-criticism cultivated by the party, is universally known.

Nor should we inflate the expression that corruption is eroding even those who are best immunized against it, although the editors regret the fact that they did not seek the advice of the respective participants in the discussion who could have refined the statement. It is a question of a process which is underway precisely because of the inconsistencies in the payment of physicians' wages, not only in connection with the general level of wages but the equalizing of highly skilled physicians and others with mediocre and careless officials....

The question (whether socialism can organize a modern health service of the population--the editors) was resolved in our country a long time ago and the entire discussion held in NARODNA KULTURA points out both directly and indirectly, including through proper figures, the development of a health and medical network oncomparable to and impossible under capitalist conditions and the unlimited opportunity for its intensive utilization and development.

For this reason, we believe that the official public answer of the ministry should not depart from the practice universally accepted in our country and in the other socialist countries in such cases: to provide a specific answer to the facts and recommendations published in the press by reporting on implemented or newly earmarked practical steps. There is no reason to note basic disagreements with some viewpoints. In the course of the discussion they were repeatedly argued by the various participants, for which reason they do not have to be dramatized or ascribed to the newspaper itself...

I sincerely desire our further cooperation.

The only addition I would like to make to this letter is this: For centuries on end, to this day, it is precisely in medicine that specialists with long years of experience who are considered the most valuable. That is why we must organize the use of physicians who have been retired as soon as possible.

With this our newspaper considers the discussion closed.

FOOTNOTE

1. Todor Zhivkov. "Problemi i Zadachi na Kooperatiynoto Dvizhenie u Nas" [Problems and Tasks of our Cooperative Movement]. Partizdat, 1982, p 15.

5003

CSO: 2200/126

WARSAW VOIVODSHIP ZSMP CONFERENCE HELD

Wozniak Attends Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by (jez)]

[Text] On 26 August in the capital, a meeting of the ZSMP took place. The subject of the meeting, in which members of 40,000 organizations active in plants and institutions throughout Warsaw and the voivodship participated, was the process for implementing the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Plenum.

During the discussions, the most important issues among Warsaw youth were raised--the start of professional life. "Indispensable above all," stated Z. Kalinski, chairman of the ZSMP factory committee at Ursus, "is a concrete knowledge of youth. For example, our organization conducted a poll among 2,100 employees--up to age 30--and gathered information on material status, earnings, qualifications, etc. We then were able to make specific recommendations with respect to apartment allotment, salaries and education."

The issues of beginning and advancement in a career were brought up frequently by the speakers. At the same time, pay and the possibility for advancement should be tied to the employees effort and professional qualifications.

During the discussion of the apartment issue, a proposal was made to reduce the backwardness of the economy in this area through housing-construction cooperatives and associations, and management of empty sections and used rooms in buildings.

The second portion of the meeting dealt with issues directly concerning the organization: Work forms, propaganda methods, information cycle and the ZSMP's ideological shape. There were calls for greater political activity and closer cooperation with the PZPR.

"The party will support youth initiatives toward the resolution of many severe complaints," stated at the session Marian Wozniak, member of the Politilca Bureau and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, "in the areas of apartment construction, community living conditions and complete utilization of professional qualifications achieved by the young generation."

Session participants approved the text addressed to young Poles.

Also participating at the session, among others, were the chairman of the ZSMP Main Board, Jerzy Jaskiernia, and Youth Minister Andrzej Ornat.

ZSMP Appeal to Youth

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] Eight months have passed since the imposition of martial law in our country. This has been a period in which the party and the government, with the moral support of the majority of Polish society, has done and will continue to do everything to stabilize and to bring Poland out of the political and economic crisis.

We all know that there is today neither a more important nor more urgent task than to overcome the political crisis, bring the economy out of the deep regression and lead it back to recovery.

In order to achieve this aim, indispensable is the awareness by the entire society that we all have a mutual responsibility for the fate of our motherland and that there is no other reasonable alternative than to create an area that unites everyone in patriotic thought and action as in the saying known for centuries "discord ruins and harmony unites." This wise truth has not reached the leaders of the underground opposition. No one knows better than the Poles the value and price of peace. This is why on the eve of the approaching anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, seeing complicated international relations and the increase of political tension in the world, we appeal to all of Polish youth to reflect on this question: What do our countrymen need most today? What is now the primary interest and goal for all of Polish society? Each one of us who thinks about a better, richer tomorrow for the motherland, countrymen, self and children, must honestly answer these questions.

No generation comes in with everything. Each one must share in the creation of its own future. And the memory of events and actions, both good and bad, should serve to strengthen that which was good and to avoid that which was bad. This is why we would like 31 August--the anniversary of the signing of the understanding at Odansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie--to be declared as a day of national unity.

9807

CSO: 2600/904

YOUNG WORKERS SPEAK ON ZSMP PLANT ORGANIZATION ACTIVITY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 82 p 4

[Interview with members of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] from the transportation Equipment Plant [WSK] in Rzeszow about the union's plant activity and about the results of the Ninth Plenum of the KC [Central Committee] of the PZPR, by Wojciech Furman: "Will We--the Young and the Old--Succeed?"; date and place not given]

[Text] This is how we understand the Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee.

Jozef Dzik, vice chairman of the ZSMP Plant Board: "The plenum undertook concrete decisions, and a program for their implementation also exists. There is just one question: Will we succeed in completing this program? When I saw 'we,' I have in mind youth, but also the party and organizations."

Participation in Decisions

Stanislaw Kielar, circle vice chairman, foreman in the department of the TGM [expansion unknown]: "I wondered what the Resolution of the Ninth Plenum can change in my department. I feel that changes will begin with the fact that the department manager and the party secretary will read this resolution."

J. Dzik: "In my opinion, the start of implementing the resolution should look as follows in the department: The manager will say to the circle chairman, 'From now on you will be with me at every operation.' So that what happened before does not happen again, the manager and the secretary are getting ready and are distributing bonuses and giving raises themselves. It should be established concretely that youth representatives must take part in discussions on defined topics."

Ryszard Kotrybala, chairman of the circle in Department 71, electrician: "We have an influence on worker reclassification. The manager and I recently made a list of young workers who had previously been passed over for successive raises--because they are young and can wait. Hardly anyone noticed that this was unfair, a fact which was made clear only with a comprehensive and systematic review."

"It is worse with economic activity. We announced our willingness to perform work within the framework of the FASM [Youth Social Action Fund], but the manager did not agree, because in his opinion the reforms do not permit this. We feel that it is precisely thanks to the reforms that the FASM can revive. We will perform work more cheaply and better, because it is for ourselves, and the money will come in handy, too."

S. Kielar: "Recently I presented our plan of action to the manager, and everything was approved. We are organizing sightseeing tours, recreational entertainment, and a trip to Mielec for the match with Lockeren."

Stanislaw Lysiak, vice chairman of the ZZ [Plant Board], construction worker: "The organization will not stand on its feet if it takes up social matters alone. That cannot be professional union of young people. It has to be a political organization, active in the movement of coming to an understanding and uniting people who are committed to labor affairs."

R. Kotrybala: "The situation is such that it is necessary to begin with social action in order to arrive at political affairs. When we begin with training, it will have no effect. People do not want to discuss politics now, but they readily talk about social affairs."

Furniture and Politics

J. Dzik: "If we limit ourselves to social activity, we will quickly lose members. A person gets an apartment from patronage, and thanks to the organization he buys furniture and begins to settle down. Undoubtedly, he can be counted on, after all he has his own ambitions, but his involvement drops off markedly. Maybe after several years he will be, for example, a good party member."

"Recently the Plant Board of the ZSMP was instrumental in the purchase of 50 suites of furniture for young workers in the WSK, not only for members of the organization. People are working in a militarized plant for 6 days a week, they do not have time to stand in lines, and it is necessary to help them somehow. In my opinion, that is also political activity."

Jan Dziura, planner: "We took it upon ourselves to organize Metalowiec, the Youth Housing Cooperative. This cooperative does not exist yet, because so far it has not been registered. For the time being there are 21 charter members and many who want to join. We do not talk about our activity readily, because the cooperative is just at the stage of organization when it is easier to hinder than to help it.

"We have alot of assistance from the plant. In March the young people completed a kiln. We will obtain, or buy, slag for hollow bricks from the plant. We will borrow a concrete mixer and buy cement.

"We want to build 2-3-story houses from brick and hollow brick. For the time being we do not have either designs or plots of ground, nor do we formally exist. But we have a lot of enthusiasm, and we truly need these apartments. Moreover, General Jaruzelski said in a report at the Ninth Plenum that young people in Rzeszow are already making hollow bricks."

J. Dzik: "The cooperative will be active, because it is being organized by people who do not have apartments themselves. Thus, they look differently at the matter than do the officials in a housing cooperative."

J. Dziura: "The cooperative is just getting organized, but the young people in the plant are already turning to us with proposals to join the cooperative. When we start construction, that will be a big trump card for the organization."

Passive People Are Wrong

J. Dzik: "Does the ZSMP have an influence on the young people in the plant? In my opinion, the influence is not a great one, but it is growing and becoming more visible. When our work has results, then the influence will grow, too. A rapid increase in the number of members in the organization is not our goal. Let us be fewer in number, but proven true in our work."

R. Kotrybala: "What we are undertaking we are doing for all young people, not just for ZSMP members. But it must be admitted that not all circles are active. Of about 40 circles in the plant, 3 are not active in general. When they wake up from their lethargy, they will regret it, because many matters have been taken care of in this time."

S. Kielar: "Earlier we looked for people to join the organization. Now people are beginning to look for us, and they are asking who in the department is the chairman of a ZSMP circle. They are registering for the 'Young Specialist' competition themselves."

J. Dzik: "The organization teaches one about life, and one can find out a great deal in it and become well prepared for responsible work. It is just that after acquiring certain skills, it is difficult to look calmly at the errors older people make."

Commentary of the KZ [Plant Committee] Secretary

Andrzej Markowski, secretary of the KZ of the PZPR: "We are trying to help the youth organization, but we do not want to do the work for it. Let it be an independent organization."

"The KZ executive board will soon examine matters affecting the daily lives and opportunities for professional advancement of young people in the plant. Analyses are being carried out to determine who has the most difficult daily life and financial conditions, and among those who have are many young people."

"The plant organization activity of the ZSMP is a little weak in the ideological sphere. It is true that plant representatives won first place at the ZSMP Olympiad of Social-Political Knowledge in March of this year, but that was the result of the capability and industriousness of a group of people rather than of training work conceived on a wide scale. That is one of the basic problems for our party organization, too. The ZSMP did not accept the proposition of participating in party training. They want to organize that training themselves. Let them organize it; they can count on our help at every instant."

9451

CSO: 2600/903

EXASPERATION, DESPERATION OF PEOPLE DESCRIBED

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 13, 14/15, 16 Aug 82

[Articles by private correspondent Nicolette Franck: "Mr Ceausescu's Romania"]

[13 Aug 82 p 3]

[Text] Now that he has negotiated a new schedule for the repayment of his debt, Mr Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Republic and of many more things in Romania, is pursuing his worldwide campaign of charm. Actually, Romanian officials will tell you--some of them not without irony--he is craving the Nobel peace prize. He will not be discouraged and he has secured the support of his party, in the name of the Romanian people. Written and shouted slogans proclaim that: "In everything he does, Ceausescu is a man for peace," or again "We are proud of all he does, Ceausescu is for peace." Ridiculous rhymes for a disproportionate goal.

I. King Ubu in Search of the Nobel Peace Prize

He is now using the Lebanese tragedy as a parade ground. The only one on the Soviet side to have kept diplomatic relations with Israel, while of course remaining the wholehearted friend of Yasir Arafat, Mr Ceausescu would like to pose as an arbitrator of the situation and thus introduce a solution made in Moscow.

But Israel has seized the PLO's archives and is said to have found in them where training camps for terrorists of all kinds are located. Mr Ceausescu would be in a bad position: there would be a camp in Brasov, in Romania. This rumor finds confirmation in the fact that a German terrorist was recently arrested at the Rome airport where she had arrived from Bucarest, with luggage containing much more explosives than what had been used in the Bologna bombing.

Mr Ceausescu parried that by inviting to Bucarest his "friend," former U.S. president Richard Nixon who belongs to the same party as President Reagan. There was wining and dining. Mr Nixon expressed the wish that the U.S. administration would continue to promote "relations with Romania that would be as good as under my administration," since Mr Ceausescu has "a profound understanding

of the world's great problems and thus could contribute, and does contribute, to solve mankind's most pressing problems." These compliments were delivered late in June.

In July, the French president, Mr Mitterrand, used a different language: he canceled his official visit to Bucarest, scheduled for next September, implying that he considered the Romanian secret services responsible for the disappearance in Paris of the writer Virgil Tanase. Like all Romanian writers and poets in exile, the latter expressed in his writings the opposition of 22 million Romanians to communism in general and to the Ceausescu family in particular. Tanase disappeared because he committed the most heinous of all crimes, that of lese majesty, in an article entitled "Ceausescu the First, a Communist King." The disappearance of a writer, or of any other citizen (for instance the worker Vasili Paraschiv) is a common occurrence in Romania. This time, Mr Ceausescu made more waves than he had expected when he exported the method of dialoguing which, according to poet Ion Caraion, can be summarized by the formula "shut up when you talk to me."

There remains to be seen what Mr Brezhnev will decide. He has already shown signs of impatience toward his vassal in charge of faking independence. Indeed, it is unlikely that a Hungarian newspaper would venture, as happened last May, to deride cruelly the Romanian president's megalomania, unless it had Moscow's assent. Mr Ceausescu's attempt at intervening in Lebanon, where he finds himself competing with France, apparently has won him a reprieve from Moscow. It must be said that there are not many candidates to succeed him since the few communists who may seem likely to aspire to power are systematically eliminated by the Ceausescu family. The latest example: the "suicide" of former minister and member of the Central Committee, Virgil Trofin, and that of his wife. He was a member of the "group of five" accused of attempting to form an alternative government. He alone had refused to present his self-criticism...

One ground for satisfaction for the Kremlin: Mr Ceausescu who, at home, proclaims itself the unequalled defender of the fatherland against Hungary's territorial claims and against the often imminent invasion by the USSR, is claiming--and rightfully so--to keep his people on a lead. He demands of them total submission to his will and affection to boot. Affection is manufactured for him to order and to measure. Witness to that are the two stories of the Bucarest National Historical Museum that are devoted to Mr and Mrs Ceausescu. "Marks of affection and admiration" from the Romanian people and from abroad, from heads of state and "humble anonymous people" are spread over 2,500 meters in a profusion of portraits, statues, medals and diplomas of the presidential couple alone.

For example: after the Georgian Republic had presented Ceausescu with a rug showing a portrait of Lenin, he had several more, bearing his own portrait, presented to him by Romanian departments...

[14/15 Aug 82 p 4]

[Text] II. An Exasperated People

It took 35 years for the communist regime to use up Romania's riches. Land collectivization, inconsiderate mining of the underground, and passive resistance on the part of the people who are deprived, humiliated and exploited, have impoverished the country. Mr Ceausescu keeps proclaiming that everything is getting better every day but, through his laws and decrees, he recognizes that everything is going wrong.

This country where everything is in short supply is showered by a torrent of speeches, laws and decrees.

The "new" agrarian revolution introduced by Mr Ceausescu early this year is supposed to remedy the difficulties experienced by agriculture, to cover the debts made in the West and provide food for Third-World countries, according to directives from the USSR. Mr Ceausescu--who sees himself as a statesman of international stature and does not care much about domestic problems, even though he keeps touting his patriotism--is leaning on the Romanian people with all the weight of his police but, economically and socially, he considers them as a negligible quantity--and neglects them accordingly.

The underground was used by the USSR until it was exhausted. The political bureau of the Central Committee and of the Communist Party has decided to change that with a stroke of the pen by decreeing early in July that future deep-drilling and the Black Sea deposits shall yield 15 million tons of oil by 1985. Most ores are extracted preferentially by political prisoners. As for professional mine-workers, whose strikes in the Jiu Valley in 1977 and in the Motru Valley last November led to bloody repression, they must have appointed Mr Ceausescu "honorary mine-worker" if one is to believe the "marks of affection" displayed in the museum devoted to the presidential couple.

According to the official party newspaper, SCANTEIA, dated 4 July 1982, the situation of the industry is very satisfactory. This statement is refuted by the foreign debt incurred to industrialize in all sectors. And by Mr Ceausescu as well, who early in June asked Romanian workers--who were all despoiled by nationalizations, either of a piece of land or of a house in the suburbs--to acquire a 30-percent interest in enterprises by buying shares worth 10,000 to 50,000 lei (the average salary being 2,000 lei) which would provide them with a 6 percent income if profits are made. These "capitalist" workers are worried by the "success" of the negotiations to reschedule foreign debt repayment (payable over 6 and a half years but with an increase of 15 percent per year): when and how can they get rid of this 20 billion dollar mortgage on their future? Of course, the boss cannot get bankrupt when he happens to be the state, but the workers, subject to tallage as they are, will suffer from it for a long time to come.

In fact, the people's exasperation has reached a climax. Rationed or not, foodstuffs are in short supply and long lines start forming in front of the shops as early as 4 am, especially for milk. When meat is available, which seldom happens, it is most often marbled with grubs, and poultry and fish,

which usually come all the way from China, are no longer edible after the trip. There is such a shortage of everything that, even in hotels, toilet paper is given only to foreign guests. When they still can laugh, Romanians will tell you this anecdote: Prunaru, the astronaut who preceded Chretien, the French astronaut, in a Soviet space flight, is welcomed upon his return by Ceausescu who chides him for carrying on like a circus acrobat in front of TV cameras, jumping up and down and waving his arms. Obviously, Ceausescu does not understand what weightlessness is, so the astronaut reminds his illustrious interlocutor of the principles of the law of gravity and, late that day, the president asks his wife: "When did I make the law of gravity?" And Elena, the first lady of the Republic, answers: "How would I know, you are the one who is making laws; I am in charge of sciences!"

The people cannot even grumble anymore; the law passed last July concerning the duties of communal councils demands from the people, in addition to restoring and cleaning houses and streets, public buildings and busses, a "highly unpromising attitude toward retrograd mentalities" and its support to the police forces who punish those who "disregard the rules of socialist cohabitation and socialist legality." No more insulting expletives or words in the lines in front of empty shops: those who contravene Article 24 of the new law, those who speak and those who do not denounce them, will be tried in public in enterprises and will have to pay fines of 200 to 10,000 lei--depending on who was "slandered."

In the meanwhile, the "heir apparent," Nicu, President Ceausescu's son, is also being talked about. At a restaurant on the top floor of one of the capital's largest hotels, where he was having dinner, he asked the wife of a very popular actor, Florin Piersic, for a dance; when Mrs Piersic declined, Nicu Ceausescu (vice-minister, vice-president of the National Assembly, etc., etc.) slapped her; the husband replied by slapping the young trouble-maker who protected himself by... having his bodyguards attack the actor who ended up in the hospital. We do not know if he is still alive. Since this incident, Nicu Ceausescu is said to have had violonist Voicu, of the Bucarest Philharmonic Orchestra, beaten up, this time in the street.

In the museum, they mention the love and regard of the Romanians for the Ceausescu's... They do not say it is reciprocal, that is true!

[16 Aug 82 p 3]

[Text] III. One Couple's Account

A young couple just came back from Romania. She is Romanian, the daughter of a physician, he is Swiss, a civil servant. They met in Romania, which he had often visited, the first time as a boy-scout in 1970. The Romanian Council of State allowed them to marry fairly quickly, one year after they had filed an application, for the Helsinki agreements were about to be signed.

"I had not gone to Romania for 6 years," he tells us, "for the situation of tourists had deteriorated little by little, with the requirement of spending 10 dollars a day, the obligation to report to the police if you stayed with the local people, then the ban on doing so, except if they were direct-line

relatives of yours, the people's increasing fear of talking to you since all conversations must be reported to the police, etc. Then, we decided to go back this year, to see my wife's parents and introduce our young son." And he adds: "I want to tell you, people must know..."

They came by car and, all along the road near the border, they saw herds of cows, horses, geese and thought that the food shortages described in the West were a lie. "But a few kilometers further, we stopped seeing what we had called 'wandering steaks'! We criss-crossed the country. It is desolate. Bucarest is miserable, but so much better off than the province! In Transylvania, there are areas where they must have rationing tickets or show their identity cards for everything except bread. We were refused a plate of butter, the saleswoman said she received just enough for the local people. A young man who heard my broken Romanian and saw my baby offered us his plate of butter. In Moldavia, they get one loaf per person, and there are lines of 2 to 300 people; our 2-year old son stood in line with us so he could buy one of those hard and sticky loaves. The meat in shops--when there is any--is spoiled, and black-market meat, which is good, can be found only if you know how and costs twice as much. In fact, shops are empty, except for wine and alcohol, which are also very expensive. As for beer, it tastes like water used to rinse the kegs. To eat properly, you must go to the Intercontinental Hotel in Bucarest where prices are prohibitive for the Romanians."

He recounts his experience: "As long as the people thought we were Romanians, when they heard my wife speak, they let us in on it. One day, we went to the market. An old peasant alone was unloading sacks of potatoes of 70 kg each in front of a line of people. We had not seen potatoes for a long time. I offered the peasant to help him unload. To thank me, he served me first, but the people started grumbling." His wife interrupts: "I told them they should not be angry at us, but at the government which creates these intolerable situations. Nobody said a word. They were all afraid, but when we left many of them made timid gestures of friendship toward us." He goes on: "You see 4-km long lines and you know there is a gas station there; the people go to work and come back to push their car from time to time. They did not like us because our gas coupons purchased in Switzerland allowed us to get ahead of the line. When they change the oil, they give you no more than the amount of used oil found in the engine; if you do not have enough oil in your car, it is up to you to get an equivalent amount of used oil ahead of time."

Soap, they could not find. In 20 days, they had only one shower: "Water, cold water only, is available in the province only three days a week; electricity is rationed (if you consume more than a given number of kilowatts, the tax is doubled); you can make a phone-call to a foreign country only once every third month; postage stamps are supposed to be in short supply, i.e. when you need a 7-lei stamp on a letter, they systematically give you stamps at least worth 0.4 lei more than that; in short, chaos is very well organized."

She adds: "In some areas, the prices--for instance for rugs or for peasant costumes--are calculated part in Romanian currency and part "in kind"; for instance, for a 2,700-lei rug, you have to give 1,900 lei plus eggs or poultry for 800 lei, etc."

"A woman told me she would like to get a handgun to kill someone, anyone, because her child would be fed in an orphanage and she would be sure of having soup in jail."

Yes, how can they feed themselves? Even gas for cooking is distributed at the rate of two bottles per year in Moldavian villages. And the rest follows suit: in Bucarest, busses run only once every hour and, in the province, only at factory opening and closing times.

"On top of that," she says, "there is not a single day without the Ceausescu's on radio or on television. In addition, they keep telling the Romanians that they eat too much, and they quote WHO recommendations for rich countries. They have also prepared 'typical menus' by age, occupation and especially by region, for the government has rid itself of its responsibility by placing the departments in charge of their own food-supplies. The people are exasperated, they can't take it anymore!"

He explains: "I met people, like that former communist, an intellectual, who is disgusted by what is going on now and dreams of the past. Others do not know the truth about what is going on elsewhere and what Romania used to be like."

And he concludes: "Ceausescu has himself called the 'Conducator' and I am telling myself that there once was a 'Fuehrer' and that many of their works are similar. He is both incompetent and a megalomaniac. Romania lacks everything, but he has a luxurious marble subway built in Bucarest to leave an indelible mark on the Romanian soil. No, I really don't think that an adult people needs a 'Conducator-Fuehrer.' Ceausescu has the 17 years of his reign called 'the 17 light-years,' but then he must have invented black light..."

9294

CSO: 3100/947

NEED FOR WORKERS WITH INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY, INVOLVEMENT, COMPETENCE

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Viorel Salagean: "High Sense of Responsibility, Involvement and Competence in Implementing the Tasks for the Economic and Social Development of the Country"]

[Excerpts] "There is a need for an increase in the spirit of responsibility." This is a central idea, an appeal addressed to all, with deep concern for the good progress of our entire activity, by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an appeal whichh was also emphasized in recent speeches delivered at the large mass meetings in Brasov, Petrosani and Hunedoara.

Yes, there is a need for a more emphasized spirit of responsibility in all that we think and do. Of responsibility, involvement and competence.

We often hear these words, filled with profound significance for the realities of our workers' democracy, spoken almost like a verbal reflex, produced out of acute necessity, in current discussions at the workplace, in conclusions of meetings or discussions. They are, after all, cardinal terms in any mechanism of democratic leadership, whether it is a question of a production workshop, an enterprise, an entire branch or the economy as a whole. In their pragmatic essence, responsibility, involvement and competence are complementary. There cannot exist a real spirit of responsibility without complete commitment in the service of an idea, without skill in the application of a measure, in the determination of prognoses. Just as a real, useful, effective involvement is not served by ad hoc, haphazard actions, without that essence of lucidity which responsibility contains, without competence, without professional capability which would guarantee the certitude of success.

For many years, Romania has been offering the entire world impressive material and human dimensions of high responsibility, involvement and competence on the order of national civic conduct. Today we are producing, in industry, 50 times as much as in 1938; more than two-thirds of the people in the country live in new houses and the incomes of the population have increased several times; we rejoice in the fact that the gaps in regard to the economically advanced countries have been greatly reduced and that this 5-year plan shows a Romania situation among the state with an average economic development. All these things are realities which we have created by ourselves; they are our Romanian realities of which we are proud.

We started with very little and with great difficulties. Without forgetting this fact we have the right to be proud but also the duty to ask ourselves if what we have achieved, not on the whole, but in each basic cell of society, in each work collective, represents the maximum possible, the most we can do.

Today we have an impressive volume of fixed assets--more than 2,100 billion lei--invested in machines and equipment, in modern installations and constructions up to the standards of the requirements of world technology. An endowment which we can and must use better and more effectively.

In each unit, each work place there should be a more pronounced spirit of responsibility, deeper involvement in the execution of tasks, from the worker up to the director, and a spirit of high competency. Emphasis should be placed on the capacity to manage scientifically and competently, to innovate, to perfect, in order to achieve increased production, of high quality, with the lowest possible consumption of materials and labor.

Recently, I came across a downright absurd situation. In a large machine building enterprise, the number of partners requesting a product of average complexity has been declining for a few years. The beneficiaries have dwindled down from 14 to 3 and the production has also decreased. We did not have to have any further explanations when we learned that the designers of the product--located in a research unit separated from the enterprise--were people who were out of touch with what has been happening in this field in the world. How can one hope for a successful product, a competitive product from the hands of such men?

Unfortunately, we find lack of responsibility, "retreating" behind the spirit of involvement, moving to the rear guard of labor, in many different forms, all around us. It is correct that they do not set the tone in the great concert of labor. But, no matter how few they might be, cases of abdication of responsibility and involvement are dissonant notes in the symphony of our collective labor. And what is more serious, we sometimes remain indifferent or tolerant in the face of such labor rejects, forgetting that, no matter how few they might be, they are bearers of retrograde mentalities and generators of waste. Lack of responsibility, superficiality, once they are out of control, brand the product and can compromise it. They do not bear the name of a worker or engineer but the name of the factory, the name of the collective.

We cannot have certainty of success in any competition without complete professional competence. Many of the difficulties which one collective or another experiences have their source in this aspect of professional training. There are today some top technical branches in which products and technologies become obsolete in one and one-half or two years. The law of progress requires new demandingness, new performances, impossible to achieve without the advancement of professional knowledge. It would be hard for me to imagine a competitive computer or lathe, up to the standard of world performances, produced by designers and engineers on the basis of knowledge from 2 or 3 years ago. And it would be hard for us to aspire to win competitions on such a busy world market with products turned out by artisans who did not have enough curiosity to open a book to refresh their knowledge which has become rusty with time.

In some places, one gets the impression, listening to the figures and data on the number of people who are attending training or retraining courses that everything is in order, that a real process of advanced professional training is going on. But, how much formalism is sometimes concealed by those figures! Advanced training classrooms are good and necessary. The man of the technical-scientific revolution will be able to complete his advanced training only by reading and becoming informed on a systematic basis, day by day, in his field and related fields, only by adopting the habit of devising new ideas and new reasonings, on his own. By ridding himself of the torpor of convenience and superficiality and boldly attacking what is new. Indifference has never placed a brick in the construction of a building. Superficial and blase attitudes have not been constructive and, whenever they have been present, they have stubbornly eroded and wasted. A smoldering dissipation which dries up and grinds everything around. There is no greater obstacle to the development of a society than stagnation in thought and indifference, apathy in action.

There cannot be pauses in professional training since any procrastination creates states of suffocation. Without thorough professional training, with a constant eye on the future, the spirit of responsibility and involvement, no matter how sincere and self-sacrificing it might be, will be implacably compromised. Mediocre people have never been able to be spearheads in the offensive of progress. We still have people with training which is below the level of the technical equipment. This is one of the most serious contradictions of this period of the technical-scientific revolution. How can this man carry the torch of progress in his small battlefield and devise more advanced machines if he has not toiled to master the machine which he is using?

This is why, when we speak of the spirit of responsibility and involvement, we must stress, first of all, competence, the capacity of thinking and creating, the capacity for innovating. Let us give this noble mode of life the highest place in all our concerns!

CSO: 2700/367

NEW DIRECTIONS IN POLITICAL, SOCIAL SCIENCES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 82 pp 2-5

/Article by Mihnea Gheorghiu/

/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu said, "I think we must begin to devise a broad program for theoretical and ideological work and for dialectical-materialist analysis of all internal and international phenomena so that we can draw the correct conclusions for future activity. At present I consider this of vital importance to socialist construction and to the RCP's future activity."

In opening and scheduling the proceedings of the recent Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee held under the dome of the Romanian Atheneum, Nicolae Ceausescu described the historical stages of Romanian society as a continuous revolutionary process and presented the current period of socialist construction in Romania with complete scientific clarity, outlining the immediate tasks and long-range objectives of national economic and cultural development with special emphasis upon ideological problems and the RCP's political and educational work.

Beginning in traditional fashion with "what is to be demonstrated," the party secretary general's perfectly balanced speech does credit to his entire theoretical work both by the idea content of its extensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of the social and political phenomena and relations taken up in the discussion and the bold logic of its axiological arguments, and by the relevance of its practical conclusions.

The introductory part, serving as a prelude, gives us not only the series of preliminary ideas that precede the exposition properly speaking in a scientific work but also the criterion of the analysis it introduces in the spirit of Marxist thought, which "undertakes not only to explain and interpret the world but also to transform it." And so the research objectives are presented to us from the start which are of decisive importance in the general analysis to be made in the priority programs of the social and political sciences in Romania and which the speech then takes up systematically and in depth. This makes it abundantly clear that we are to analyze how the productive forces and the present stage of the national economy in comparison with the world economy developed; the social structure and relations, ownership of the production means, and the way the social product is produced and distributed; the mode of thought (social awareness

and level of education determined by the existing material resources); and the important role of education, culture and science in development of the productive forces.

After these premises are stated, the conclusion follows along with the statement of the stand taken by the RCP's ideological and political program: "Both aspects of the activity are interdependent and in a dialectical unity, and they ensure the further progress of society, the people's greater welfare, and the consolidation of the nation's sovereignty and independence. The logic of this reasoning unequivocally and permanently relates progress to social awareness and socialist patriotism, and national sovereignty to the people's revolutionary gains.

In the following 15 chapters the new party document approved at the Plenum of 1-2 June 1982 uniformly summarizes the results of Romanian socialism in the peak decades of its construction, with its unquestionable successes, its shortfalls and some of its inherent contradictions, from a significant long-range viewpoint that will form the basic subject matter of the discussions in all the RCP organizations in preparation for the National RCP Conference at the end of the year. The main new ideas following from the party secretary general's speech are particularly important for improving the research and teaching programs in the social and political sciences and also for initiating some practically new interdisciplinary policies.

The plenum first confirmed the Romanian revolutionary-humanist conception of development, which includes as inseparable from the economic plans for material prosperity the sustained effort on behalf of intellectual development, education and culture, promotion of original creative work in the arts and sciences, and all-around development of the human personality and its philosophy of the free man in a world liberated from ignorance and oppression.

There has been an increasingly pronounced diversity of theoretical approaches to the ideology and practice of socialism in the contemporary world, and not in Europe alone. Scientific socialism underwent this natural evolution because it developed under historical and social-political conditions that the Marxist classics' method anticipated in the very nature of the dialectical and historical materialist conception of revolution and society. In connection with this statement I should like to point out a feature of the RCP's ideological program, namely the principle that restores the creative-active role of social awareness in general social development, a role that other theorists have incorrectly reduced to mechanical subordination to practical, material activity.

There are also other theories and ideas that should be revised in the light of new social and revolutionary experience and procedure, even though there was a time decades ago when they seemed "most advanced" to some comrades. For example there were theories in various periods to the effect that the class struggle is aggravated as socialism develops, and as we know the application of those theories led many distortions and the compromise of the socialist conception. In calling attention to them and others like them in his speech and on other occasions, Nicolae Ceausescu said they could not bear comparison with the realities of the respective countries or any country and Romanian social scientists really must study these problems more carefully and find formulations in keeping

with the changed realities, the new stages of socioeconomic development, the new scientific discoveries and new human knowledge. Study of the contradictions in socialism and their limits and proportions in social progress as an extremely urgent research subject is another idea of great theoretical value to worldwide scientific socialism that the party secretary general has promoted.

The RCP Program, which defines socialism as a purposeful creative process wherein the entire people assume their historical responsibility, has laid the foundations for due consideration of the relations between culture and the social-political system and between culture and democracy and of the role of the social and political sciences in the evolution of the fully developed socialist society.

The party leadership has repeatedly assigned the task of coordinating political with cultural affairs and the institutions providing for widespread practice of democracy with those having definite cultural-educational functions, pointing out that this is a uniform, dynamic correlation between the objective political, social, moral and cultural values of the nation and the subjective individual values, the talents and aptitudes of the workers or, in short, the competitive power of the Romanian intellect. This uniform conception is not to be taken in the narrow sense of standardization. It is based upon comparison of various theories and conceptions and upon the eternal struggle between the new and the old. The structure of socialist democracy makes this correlation possible and viable, permitting development and improvement of the personality in the social-historical process of Romanian society and providing for improvement of creative work on all levels.

Romanian research, development and discussion in the field of the social and political sciences in 1981 and the first quarter of 1982 on the part of scholars, subject university teachers, and party and state activists were devoted to the tasks assigned the social and political sciences in the approved five-year plan, the RCP documents and the directives of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, honorary president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences.

On the subject of the current and long-range aims of socioeconomic and political development of Romanian society, studies were concluded and reference works were published concerning the evolution of Romania's socioeconomic structure, development of party leadership in the state and society, workers democracy, self-management and self-administration, improved legislation, the prospective evolution of the social structures and organisms, the role of the family and women in society, applied sociological studies based on the principles of socialist ethics and justice, studies of national and universal art and culture, history of philosophy, history of law and many other topics, enhancing the social sciences' contribution to improved ideological and cultural-educational work. Papers were also written that treat very important problems of current international affairs in the light of President Nicolae Ceausescu's conception.

Last year several fundamental works, either in the series of treatises or in that of correlating works, in almost all branches of the social sciences were completed, discussed and approved for printing.

A large number of studies treated the Romanian people's historic past and the nation's artistic and cultural heritage, as well as the Romanian people's

contribution to world history, science and culture. They include historical-archeological discoveries of great scientific and political value in confirmation of the unity of the Romanian people in their ancestral geographic area and of their European destiny. Special emphasis was placed on the three leading treatises, on the histories of the nation and the Romanian language and literature, written at the direction of the higher party administration and based on interdisciplinary studies and discussions with extensive participation of our specialists and other scientists.

Nicolae Ceausescu's opinions and recommendations concerning review of scientific work in these fields will be studied and introduced in the integrated research plan of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences before the end of this month.

The more significant results of these studies were also exploited in the 70 scientific discussions and meetings organized by our academy last year, some of them with international participation. Some of these were held in collaboration with other academies and central institutions (some jointly with ERA SOCIALISTA) on subjects determined by a decision of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee in some areas of very urgent socioeconomic and political-ideological concern, and they also promoted the contribution of research to the scientific-materialist indoctrination of workers, to the formation of the socialist consciousness, and to substantiation of a system of values based on the RCP's Ideological Program.

In the coordination of the sciences in Romania, the National Council for Science and Technology chaired by Elena Ceausescu plays a major role not only of an organizational and practical nature but also on the conceptual level of scientific research. This coordination on the national level must be interdisciplinary in order to correct narrow specialization in the direction of the overall problems, and that is effectively accomplished through the interrelation between what has been called the internal logic of development of the sciences and the historically determined external factors in the latter.

Alongside the above-mentioned achievements, there have been a number of defects in social science activity. The research has not always met the demanding and far-reaching requirements and expectations of the management of socialist construction, nor has it always made good use of the RCP's conception and favorable results.

Other studies and papers that have been written are still chiefly descriptive in nature and propose no specific measures in support of social actions or the needs of the decision makers. Some researchers are still not aggressive enough against the backward attitudes and concepts and various retrograde ideas and trends. Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies are not yet commensurate with the present stage of the technical-scientific revolution and the complexity of the social-political phenomena to be analyzed in accordance with them.

Socialist society is an educational society par excellence. In view of the progress already made in integrating education with research we must realize that in the case of general and occupational education and culture schooling properly speaking is only a step in a process interdependent with progressive adjustment

to the onslaught of technical-economic innovations we are experiencing and consequently with the constant need of retraining from top to bottom, as it was pointed out in the speech.

In this continuous process, the mass communications media figure as a source of information and an educational factor available to all. The ideological-professional level of the materials they convey is not always sufficiently analytical or convincing for the Romanian talent and intellect or for the present international dialogue of ideas, to say nothing of the advanced traditions of Romanian journalism. And I would add here the right to reply to any untruths or libels against the Romanian system and history under the signatures of foreign journalists.

If we are to bring out the main directions and trends characteristic of this stage of the social and political sciences' development we must make more intensive theoretical and methodological efforts to precisely determine the present state and highly complex problems of each discipline and of the field as a whole. New aspects of the national-universal relationship have been thrown into relief by the present social-political and cultural changes and by the appearance and development of some global problems and new economic, political, social and moral approaches due to the aggravated international disorder and intensified political tensions and gaps between countries. There is also an acute recrudescence of ideological irrationalism along with a revival of neofascist theories. Generalization of the economic crisis and aggravation of social injustices have intensified the protest of the masses impoverished by the insane armaments race as well as the nations' ardent desire for peace and security accompanied by further development of the cooperative interdependence of peoples, states and nations and establishment of a new international order.

Romanian scientists have participated in discussions of current world problems at many international meetings held in Romania or abroad and in correlating works published in world languages, which present Romanian civilization and culture in a historical perspective. I should also like to mention here the work of our colleagues on the Romanian national committee "Scientists and Peace."

But Romanian propaganda abroad is still inadequate.

Romania's foreign policy of peace and cooperation illustrates the Romanian president's firm and recognized stand that the world's disputed geopolitical and legal-economic problems should be faced in the spirit of morality and reason without military inferiority or superiority complexes. The Romanian ideology continues to maintain that nuclear strategy itself, regarded by some as a matter of military equipment, is primarily a matter of political ethics and humanity.

The chief of state's speech qualified the idea that despite its extensive development in the last two decades Romania is still a developing socialist country among the 100 and more countries in a category that is nevertheless differentiated according to the criterion of per capita income, because in some main economic indicators Romania has surpassed the characteristics of a developing country and is approaching those of the countries with medium development. In its strategy for national socialist industrialization, the RCP has allowed for

the fact that there are no single patterns or formulas to solve the new problems presented by development of the productive forces or creation and development of the technical-material base, and that the ways and means of accomplishing the objectives of the socialist revolution depend upon a series of economic, social, political and historical factors.

To be sure this radical revolutionary reform has not been free of difficulties and shortcomings or even of errors, but the party has firmly rejected both vain-glorious or idyllic views and defeatist attitudes and criticized the failings objectively and severely, instituting ways of eliminating them and rallying the masses of workers to the tasks of Romania's socialist construction.

Romania's transition to a medium developed country will not change the basic direction of its economy, and considerable national income will still be allocated to development of the productive forces. The history of Romania and other nations shows that it is only accumulation, the growth of the general national wealth that preserves a nation's independence and sovereignty. The level of accumulation determines a nation's future, and not the high level of consumption or of the entire national income.

The party's new ideological and political document also gives us a more detailed explanation of the socialist principle "from each according to possibility and to each according to work," to the effect that the members of society must give all they can by means of their labor, while their incomes are in an equitable ratio (1:5), the material incentive and differentiation are maintained, and the necessities of life and physical and intellectual development are provided for all members of society. This principle will probably also remain valid in the period of transition to communism, and certain distinctions based on the social division of labor will be retained in that period as well.

It has been concluded that social ownership of the entire people was mistakenly identified before with state ownership. The people are the owners and not the state, which is only an instrument for organization and development of the society in its hands. The legal concept of ownership must be improved, that is the workers capacity as owners must be implemented by their direct, personal participation in development of the production means. Cooperative ownership, both artisan and agricultural, must be strengthened and no longer regarded as an "inferior form" of socialist ownership.

As for the role of the state, it is proposed to strengthen the roles of the state organs and people's councils in implementing socialist democracy in connection with application of self-management and regional self-supply. In the enforcement of law and order, the Ministry of Interior's organs (security and militia), which are entirely responsible for constant enforcement of socialist legality, are expected to collaborate regularly with the workers.

According to the explanation of the dialectical relationship between the Communist Party and the socialist state, the state and its organs cannot be replaced by anyone, not even the party organs, and the question "Who is in the main position?" should not even arise. The Tricolor is the only state flag and cannot be replaced by any other flag (The party flag, being the flag of a political organization, cannot replace the state flag). The Romanian army always acts solely in defense of the people's existence, it will wage war only in defense of the

nation, and it will not participate in the subjugation of other peoples under any circumstances.

In the preparation of the history of the Romanian people it is apparent that there cannot be two histories, one of the people and another of the party, because the party's history is included in the single history of the Romanian people. Perpetuation of the idea of having two parallel histories is a remnant of the Third International's ideas, whereby the communist parties have their own histories and need not take account of the national interests or may even disregard them, which ideas are equally harmful to the party and the Romanian people.

Knowledge of and respect for the past of labor and struggle and all that was good over the centuries are basic to formation and development of the feeling of national pride and patriotism.

The working class and the peasantry are still the two main classes of Romanian society, while the intelligentsia is the third social force of Romanian society today and occupy a very important place alongside the first two, and its role will be enhanced by the scientific-technical revolution.

The party is still the vital center of society, but its role and functions will change according to the historical stages of development of Romanian socialist and communist society and will disappear at a certain stage of communism. Party members do not and cannot have special rights in socialist society. They are subject to the masses' control. More must be done to strengthen the party's ranks qualitatively, so that all management functions will be performed by competent people with high professional, political and technical qualifications and impeccable morality.

Regarding the recent anticommunist stands and campaigns alleging the "crisis of socialism," Nicolae Ceausescu says the difficulties arising in the socialist societies are not caused by socialism but by deviations, errors, violations of its principles, and the fact that socialist society is part of the world economic system and consequently affected by any crisis in it. Separation of the planned economy from the market economy (socialist and capitalist) must be more differentiated: It is unsound to idealize socialist society, to the effect that it knows no difficulties or economic crises and that its problems are solved automatically, since the facts show that such an idyllic representation is dangerous and harmful. Experience tells us that contradictions and disagreements can arise among the socialist countries too, and they must not be ignored but resolved by negotiation. Widespread collaboration among the socialist countries must allow for the economic interests of each one and respect their independence and equality. On that principle, Romania feels certain improvements must be made in CEMA's activity. The problems of the present stage of economic development have given rise to different approaches that are even diametrically opposed on the international level. The extreme reactions, the slogan to return to the mechanism of the free market, or the tendency to exaggerate state control of planning cannot be viable solutions. In demonstrating that the socialist economy, or the modern economy in general, cannot function under haphazard, anarchic impulses, experience has also refuted the simplistic ideas of denying or underrating production of goods and the law of value and revealed the falsity of the plan or market dilemma.

Nicolae Ceausescu's speech is a veritable Marxist school of vigorous, fresh and enterprising creative thought and a vast source of inspiration and guidance for the entire ideological front and for society as a whole. It made a point of clarifying the fact that on the basis of the previous achievements, Romania's economic activity is now confronted with some eminently new demands in comparison with the periods when the national economy was being developed on a largely extensive basis while the world economy enjoyed a relatively lengthy "boom." These requirements flow partly from the entry of the national economy into the stage of its intensive development accompanied by the introduction of the new economic-financial mechanism and partly from the entry of the world economy into a profound and prolonged crisis that brutally exposed the serious structural weaknesses of economic growth based upon cheap and apparently inexhaustible energy resources.

A decisive part in the growth of the productive forces was played by the continuing efforts and measures of the party administration to develop national scientific research and to apply the advances of the current scientific-technical revolution to all sectors of the economy. Application of the scientific research findings helped considerably to assimilate new products and technologies, to better exploit the raw materials and energy resources, and to enhance economic effectiveness in general.

The proceedings of the plenum indicated that we have major obligations as regards ideological training of communists and the masses as well as explanation and interpretation of the trends and direction of socioeconomic development and of the radical revolutionary changes taking place in Romania and in the world. We shall have to make ideological work clearer and much more specific and more consistently eliminate the tendencies to confine political indoctrination to general truths divorced from experience. At the same time we are entirely convinced that improvement of the political-ideological and educational program is all the more necessary now that the realities of international affairs, the confrontation of ideas and the clash of ideologies have become particularly acute. Therefore research must make a greater contribution to development of the social sciences and to intensive theoretical study of the problems of national history, the structural changes in Romanian socialist society, the present and future roles of the state and the party and the role of the nation, as well as other problems in connection with generalizing Romania's results in building the new order and with the new phenomena and trends in international political and economic affairs.

Original philosophical and political thought that is realistic, consistent and resolved to meet the aspirations of the world of today and is expressed in prestigious political documents and in those of higher education and culture requires new efforts on the part of all of us in the way of intellectual work and discipline and humanist patriotism on behalf of the moral and material progress entered in the RCP's revolutionary program, the program of our historical options. The coherence of this cultural policy, constantly recreated to achieve that final goal, is in keeping with the present-day world as well as the inalienable principle of the Romanian socialists' struggle for peace, freedom and culture and for civilization.

Under the dome of the Romanian Atheneum, that building representative of the nation's capital and symbolic of its history, the Expanded Plenum of the RCP

Central Committee qualified as a memorable event in Romania's national culture because it united the thinkers and the decision makers of the RCP in the field of social-political thought and socialist construction as an eloquent expression of the moral unity between the party and the people and of the party's political leadership in society, not as an elitist "avant-garde" of the working class but as an active reflection of the entire socialist nation. We met there and not in the customary "plenum hall." It is an unprecedented event due to an unprecedented initiative, that of convening the members of the Central Committee in the plenum of the supreme forum in the presence of so many other party members directly interested in the problems by virtue of their activity as communists and workers. This exemplary initiative, characterized by a truly innovating and revolutionary conception of friendly deliberation and dialogue and of collective and democratic management of socialist and communist society and also by respect for the title of member of the RCP, was also that of our secretary general, the president of Romania.

5186

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF TEACHERS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 82 pp 18-20

/Article by Reader Dr Ioan Jinga, school inspector general of Bucharest municipality/

/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu said, "From preschool to university education children and youths must be brought up and indoctrinated in the spirit of patriotism and dedication to socialism and the party and in the spirit of work, while they are armed with the latest advances of science and human knowledge."

Now more than ever the capacity of teacher requires a profound sense of social and political responsibility. First because the training of the young generations must meet the demands of the fully developed socialist society as completely as possible both now and in the future. That requires knowledge and comprehension not only of the realities of today but also of those to come which, despite their stochastic nature, must be considered in training preschool children, pupils and students.

Then the fact must be considered that education and instruction are of a mass nature and are aimed at persons of practically all ages. Continuing education has now become essential for all members of society regardless of their occupation and ambitions, because constant improvement of their knowledge is the only way they can participate in the life of the City with full competence and responsibility.

On the other hand, among all the means available to socialist society for the comprehensive training of its members the schools and professional teachers have a place apart. This is due both to the scope of their activity and to the fact that they are specialized instruments whereby society accomplishes its instructive-educational purposes in an organized and uniform way. But for the very reason that the training of youth for work and life, and their indoctrination in socialist ethics and justice and in revolutionary patriotism and humanism, are a complex and dynamic process, sometimes with contradictory aspects, they cannot be directed by narrowly trained teachers with no great political awareness or sense of social responsibility.

In his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the necessity of thoroughly involving schools of all

levels as well as all teachers in consistent training of the young generations for work and life and in educating a "revolutionary, ardent and courageous youth, ready for any sacrifice for the benefit of the nation and socialism, for defense of national independence, and for peace."

For the best possible performance of such obligations, the teachers must keep improving their political, ideological, scientific, cultural and specialized qualifications, they must display enthusiasm by participating directly in socio-economic activity alongside pupils and students, they must keep abreast of the problems facing youth, and they must constantly improve their didactic strategy and especially their teaching methods in accordance with those problems.

Accordingly a number of qualities are demanded of the teacher of today, but without a high sense of social and political responsibility his endeavors will lose perspective and effectiveness.

School Youth's Education for Work

It is primarily important to inculcate an advanced attitude toward work in children and youths. Although great strides have been made in that direction, most teachers have difficulty in indoctrinating preschool children and pupils in the spirit of respect for the physical labor that produces material values, since they themselves find it difficult to adjust to the idea that eventually all workers will go to high school and that training is not incompatible with a "nonintellectual" occupation but, on the contrary, essential to any efficient, highly productive activity. They overlook the fact that the present conditions under which most occupations are performed differ radically from those of 20 or 30 years ago and will change even more in the next few decades because of the increasingly intensive impact of science upon technology and the use of increasingly improved manufacturing methods.

The essential differences between physical and intellectual work are vanishing today under our eyes. Yet some teachers fail to understand this and underemphasize it in their efforts to indoctrinate pupils in the spirit of interest in and enthusiasm for creative work that produces material values, although they all want the latter in the greatest possible quantity and variety and they want them cheap and of good quality.

Accomplishment of such an educational aim calls for the joint action and combined efforts of all elements responsible for education of youth. There is no subject of study in the education plans that does not lend itself to practical applications and natural correlations with experience and the realities of socialist construction in Romania. Learning itself can and should be based to a greater extent upon inner motivations and every youth's inner conviction that only through work can he fulfill himself effectively and only by a sustained effort can he perfect his personality and fulfill his ideals, in close coordination with those of the community.

When they are well planned and prepared, visits to factories, plants, worksites and fields are occasions for familiarizing youth in schools and universities with the world of labor and the occupations and with the dynamic and complex activity of the creators of material goods. But the most effective way of educating youths for work and life is their actual participation in practical

instructive activity and in patriotic work for the public good, provided that those activities are well organized, that the pupils and students work efficiently and know for what particular purpose, that their work is correctly evaluated (quantitatively and qualitatively), that they are gradually integrated in the socialist units' activities, which they shall know in their various aspects, and that the teachers set good examples under all these circumstances.

But unfortunately on all too many occasions the applied-practical activities, experience in production, and patriotic work do not provide youths with the organizational framework and emotional climate to arouse their enthusiasm for physical work. The main reason for this is the irresponsibility of the teachers (whether they are professors, engineers, craftsmen, workers or managers in schools or enterprises), who do not plan or prepare the activities in question thoroughly enough. The enterprises regard practical instruction as primarily a school problem (while they criticize the schools for the poor quality of the labor force!), while the schools often expect the enterprises to have everything in readiness for them, while the professors reserve for themselves the convenient role of spectators of the process of practical instruction.

The solution is provided by the schools and enterprises that have specified their collaboration and responsibilities in agreements stipulating in detail the content and forms of the practical instruction and by whom, when and how the work places, material resources, guidance of the pupils or students, sale of the products made etc. are provided for. It is essential for all the educational and industrial units to regard youths' training for work and life as a common task of the greatest economic importance and to treat it as such throughout the training period and thereafter until the young graduates have been fully integrated in production.

Attitude Toward Learning

The pupils' and students' attitude toward learning as well as the stand taken by teachers on the school or university youth's results are another problem, closely related to the first. And here we often find the teachers' tendency to shift responsibility for scholastic failure in one cycle of education to the previous one or the family, ignoring their own responsibilities as well as the rehabilitating function of education on all its levels to fill in the gaps found in the pupils' or students' training.

Without detracting from the teachers' responsibility for the soundness of the knowledge and skills of studious youths in each cycle of education, the systemic view of education calls for a twofold action, namely to prevent scholastic failure by close and regular collaboration between cycles, and to adjust a teaching strategy suited to each cycle in such a way that while the scholastic programs of one cycle are being pursued, the necessary knowledge not previously acquired is completed, so that the framework upon which each youth's personality is based will be as solid as possible.

Measures to accomplish this objective are available to all teachers and the managers in the guidance system as well. For example, the teachers who are to take over the first grades can collaborate with the teachers of the large groups of kindergartens from which the pupils are recruited, determining together the

ways to ensure a thorough mastery of the essential disciplines and skills by all the children. The professors of the fifth grades and the teachers of the fourth grades can proceed in the same way, as well as the high school and gymnasium professors and the university personnel and those in high school education. Such collaboration can provide a good opportunity for consultation and mutual aid for the benefit of the pupils and education in general.

Moreover when a new cycle of education is entered (that is in the first, fifth, ninth and 11th grades and in the first year of college) we think it is absolutely necessary to give tests for initial evaluation of the pupils' and future students' preparation in every subject in order to determine his exact level of knowledge. That would determine the best teaching strategy to accomplish the particular objectives of the respective year of study, as well as the rehabilitating program where needed. The results of those tests are also a means of evaluating the efficiency of the teachers in the previous educational cycle, enabling the school inspectorates and unit managers to take steps concerning those who are not fully performing their duties (compulsory enrollment in improvement, guidance and control for a longer period, requirement to draft their plans of lessons, facilitation of exchanges of experience with other teachers, arrangement of individual study programs accompanied by periodic checks, administrative sanctions, etc.).

Furthermore the system of sponsoring high schools by the institutes of higher education and rural schools by urban high schools, a system instituted pursuant to the decision of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, provides highly favorable conditions for expanding collaboration and mutual aid among educational units. Although this system has been in effect for a relatively short time, a first evaluation indicates that the idea is catching on even if all those involved in the process are not enthusiastic about it because of the extra effort they must make and the irritation of some with those whom they will guide. Many faculties have appointed representatives to the management councils of the high schools, which will enable them even to participate in decision making. And the authors of textbooks have begun to form a more realistic impression of the suitability of the textbooks, the possibilities of the pupils' using them for independent work, etc.

But collaboration between high schools and rural schools was more prompt. After the first on-the-spot contacts were made, the administrations of the high schools and the schools for first to eighth (10th) grades drew up joint programs and began implementing them, starting with improvement of the material resources of the rural schools (laboratories, workshops and study halls) and finishing with the model lessons written by the high school professors known for their teaching aptitudes and methodological experience. Of course the problems of such collaboration are to be better defined in the future in close correlation with the particular characteristics of the various schools, because it must not be interpreted under any circumstances as a detraction from the responsibility of the managers and teachers in the sponsored units.

But we feel priority in the program for collaboration among the elements of our educational system should be placed on an extensive effort to equalize the conditions for training school youth, accompanied by improvement of the instructive-educational process on all levels and in all its elements.

This view is also borne out by the recent results of the single-subject tests given to the pupils in the eighth, 10th and 12th grades in Bucharest on the subjects of the Romanian language, mathematics and physics. In mathematics, for example, 43.7 percent of the pupils received marks between 5 and 6, and 21.8 percent received marks below 5. In physics 47.53 percent of the pupils received marks between 5 and 6, while 13.3 percent rated below 5. In Romanian language and literature 39.3 percent of the pupils who took these tests received marks between 5 and 6, and 10.58 percent received marks below 5. Without making a fetish of the statistical data, it can be concluded that the professors are unequally involved in instructive-educational work and that the sense of social and political responsibility of some of them is not up to the standards required by the party and state administrations.

The impression is often conveyed that the results of instructive-educational work are unsatisfactory because the parents are not interested, the pupils are lazy or the educational units are inadequately equipped. The fact is that neither the parents, nor the pupils, nor the material-organizational environment is an insurmountable obstacle. The main fault is with the schoolmen and teachers, who do not know how, who cannot or do not make a sufficient effort to overcome the difficulties that arise, often quite naturally, in the complex and difficult process of forming the human personality.

Experience convinces us that the teachers with a vocation for education who are thoroughly trained politically, professionally, psychopedagogically and culturally and who keep trying to promote the new in their field of endeavor obtain good results even in schools with more modest material resources.

General Culture of Teachers

Teachers' sense of social and political responsibility must also be viewed in the light of their commitment to cultural-educational work. If we mean teachers in education, most of them are primarily concerned throughout their teaching careers with improving their professional training, for which there is also a better organized and more stimulating arrangement. General-cultural training, being left to each one's initiative and option, is effected sporadically and usually unilaterally. Therefore we often encounter situations where some teachers, known for their professional competence, avoid discussions of subjects of broader scope than their specialties, although many of them accept the interdisciplinary approach as a necessity of modern education.

But the situation is not limited to this aspect. Since the education plans (burdened enough as it is) cannot cover the whole universe of modern man's information and culture, the teacher often has to answer some of the most varied questions in very diverse fields of human knowledge with which the studious youth is confronted.

Pupils and students want to know as many things as possible, and they want to discuss the grave problems of mankind seriously, such as environmental pollution, the armaments race, the energy and raw materials crisis, exploration of outer space, genetic engineering, etc. But they also want to discuss problems in the reality closer to the individual, such as love and friendship, personal and group relationships, rules of behavior on various occasions, the possibility of deciphering the encoded messages of some works of art, etc.

In order to participate in such discussions, the teacher in education must go beyond the limits of his specialty and make regular incursions into all fields of human knowledge, whether it is the natural sciences, philosophy, ethics, aesthetics, literature or art. To be sure it is out of the question that teachers should be encyclopedists, that is no longer possible nor necessary today, but they should have a general idea of the major problems of the period and of mankind and also of the anxieties of those whom they are to guide on the torturous path of knowledge and of life. Otherwise, instead of a creative activity (as the profession of teacher requires), there is the risk of an activity of the artisan type, the results of which will be at least doubtful as regards overall educational and formative effectiveness.

To be able to mold personalities with a rich intellectuality, the teachers themselves must have such an intellectual horizon and an active presence in the cultural affairs of the cities and villages. Teachers in education are expected to play their part more and more as inspirers of the cultural life of the school and local communities. Sometimes they are the first guides and counselors of the pupils in their evolution as creators and beneficiaries of culture. The structuring of the pupils' cultural tastes and interests ultimately depends upon the teacher's competence and interest, as well as the extent to which they assimilate the true values of culture and transform them into living values.

Only a cultured teacher can cope with the demands of the future society whose foundations are being laid today. And only such a teacher will be able to have many personal satisfactions as well, since he is constantly in contact with the treasury of values of humanity and society.

Under the conditions of continuing education, the problems arise in the same way for the teachers in the other fields, who come in contact with workers of all ages and occupations and also with "the third age." The ability to select the values for educational work that fully correspond to the educational and cultural ideal of Romanian society is no innate aptitude nor any quality inherent in the position held, but a characteristic of those who have a solid initial preparation as well as a capacity for self-improvement throughout their whole activity as teachers and inspirers of culture.

Consequently the proportion of general-cultural education of all categories of teachers must be considerably increased in the training period, but also later on in the course of retraining activities. Moreover, short of replacing conviction with constraint, we feel it is the mission of the professional teachers' supervisors to manage, guide, direct and control this process.

Although the problem remains open to new additions, qualifications and distinctions, we think it follows from the foregoing that beyond the ethical and professional aspects of the function of teacher, its political and social responsibility is overwhelming in the structure of the personalities of those who by various ways and means help to form the Romanian nation's most precious possession, the new man.

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NEW REQUIREMENTS FOR LITERARY, ARTISTIC WORKS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 82 p 16

[Article by Ion Dodu Balan: "Creative Literary-Artistic Work with New Ideological-Aesthetic Standards and Achievements"]

[Text] Against the background of national economic development and improved socialist relations and being essentially determined by them, the progress made in education, science and culture significantly fills out the general picture of socialist Romania's material and intellectual progress. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his recent speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, "On the basis of the level of the productive forces and the nation's all-around development, the 12th Party Congress assigned the basic task of achieving a new quality of work and life in all fields." Thanks to the party's constant efforts, an atmosphere of intensive creative ferment set in throughout the whole country and conditions were created for promotion of all creative energies, for development of the most varied talents, styles and modes of expression on the same ideological grounds, and for scientific exploitation of the popular output and the national and universal cultural heritage. In the publishing field, a body of Romanian, Hungarian, German and Serbian folklore was compiled and complete and scientific definitive editions of many classic writers were published, as well as extensive studies on the evolution of Romanian literature, on the main literary schools and trends, on the personalities who illustrate them, and on art journals and schools. Alongside the poetic works of Aron Cotrus, published for the first time in a single edition, a new edition of G. Calinescu's "History of Romanian Literature from Its Origin to the Present Time," revised and enlarged by the author, was published at this time, 40 years after the first edition. It is a monumental reference work by a man of genius and unique on the Romanian cultural scene. The new edition is an event in the publishing and cultural world and an impressive proof of the Romanian people's self-awareness, clearly bearing out the RCP's scientific and profoundly patriotic policy of exploiting the cultural heritage.

In the profoundly humanistic climate of great creative ebullience wherein all talents can advance, Romanian literature was synchronized in its major achievements with all the more significant creations of world literature, making its original contribution to the cultural heritage of humanity. The diversity, beauty, originality and worth of contemporary Romanian literature are certainly

not foreign to the richness and beauty of the life the Romanian people are selflessly and heroically creating under the party's leadership. The facts fully confirm this, whether it is a question of Romania's rapid development, economic achievements, scientific-technical progress, cultural triumphs, or formation of a new man. The literature has followed life and sometimes opened new paths to life by its anticipatory power. Its realism and influential power are based upon direct contact with people's lives, with the ever fresh wellsprings of reality, with the real, dialectical contradictions in life, and with people's ideals and dreams. The changes that have taken place in the existence and consciousness of the builders of socialism in Romania, their moral beauty, their world of thoughts and feelings and their joys and sorrows have passed into the substance of the best of the current works of all literary genres. Following the party's revolutionary example and the encouragement of its secretary general, the talented and diligent writers have done their utmost to enrich the most outstanding literary works, novels, plays, poems, essays, literary criticism and history, journalism etc., with dialectical, flexible and intransigent thought.

The political novel of high quality, the essay novel of serious meditation upon the human condition in contemporary society, the historical novel, the play with philosophical discussion, and the literature inspired by the lives of the party activists, by the history of the working class struggle, and by the Romanian people's heroic labor underwent an unprecedented development in those years. Poetry enjoyed notable successes, especially the patriotic, revolutionary lyric poetry of ideas that boldly approaches the great problems of contemporary man. And so a rich literature, varied, original, realistic and humanistic, was developed that can convey its own distinctive view of our times to the individual and humanity.

The subject matter of current literature was enlarged in this period to a point where nothing human is foreign to it. There was also an important confrontation of ideas in the field of literary criticism and history, which in itself is indicative of the great freedom enjoyed by the creators of beauty in Romania. Welcoming the tasks assigned by the party secretary general, collectives of historians, literary historians, philosophers, linguists and philologists have readied or are about to ready for printing the "History of Romania," "History of Romanian Literature," "History of Romanian Philosophy" and "History of the Romanian Language." Other syntheses have already seen the light of print and are highly esteemed by the public and the experts alike.

Yet there are still quite a few shortcomings, many lags and a great many things to be done in order to create and establish a realistic, humanistic art of high artistic merit, originality and a wealth of ideas, a militant and patriotic art, a mirror of our era and the continuation of the best traditions of Romanian and universal art, and a national, revolutionary and popular art that can serve as an effective means of shaping the consciousness and forming the new man. Much remains to be done to improve and clear the air in the life of the writers community and in the activity of the publishing houses and journals and all cultural institutions. We must militate resolutely to make literary criticism a true instrument of the ideological struggle, requiring it to abandon exaggerated subjectivism, the group spirit, occasional ideological eclecticism, pedantic quibbling, and intellectual snobbery that sometimes reaches the point of slavish

subservience to insignificant foreign values. Many mediocre and even inferior books are still published that enjoy the exaggerated and obviously subjectivist acclaim of some critics. Some essential features of the social and moral changes of our time and many of the brilliant achievements of these heroic days also give rise to some idyllic or, on the contrary, nihilistic stereotypes and both are equally sterile.

Discussions of the basic categories of aesthetics in the technical literature have been inadequate to support in that way the scientific interpretation of the philosophical meanings and content of the literary work and its message.

As for the specific results of these fruitful years, the critics, theorists, writers, editors of journals and publishers have unquestionably been mobilized, since the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and on the eve of the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, for the great task of forming the new man with a broad horizon of knowledge and a revolutionary party consciousness.

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